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XENOPHON

ANABASIS, BOOKS IV—VII
SYMPOSIUM AND APOLOGY

XENOPHON
ANABASIS, BOOKS IV-VII

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
CARLETON L. BROWNSON

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

AND

SYMPOSIUM AND APOLOGY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
O. J. TODD

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA



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XENOPHON
THE ANABASIS OF CYRUS
BOOK IV

VOL. III.

B

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ

Δ

5 Ι. ¹ Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν
καὶ ἐλείπετο τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον σκοταίους διελθεῖν
τὸ πεδίου, τηνικαῦτα ἀναστάντες ἀπὸ παρ-
αγγέλλσεως πορευόμενοι ἀφικνοῦνται ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
6 πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. ἔνθα δὲ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγείτο
τοῦ στρατεύματος λαβὼν τὸ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς

- ¹ The summary prefixed to Book IV. (see note on II. i. 1) is as follows: "Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐγένετο μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες Ἕλληνες ἐποίησαντο, καὶ ὅσα παραβάντος τὰς σπονδὰς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους ἐπολεμήθη πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπακολουθοῦντος τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ
2 δεδήλωται. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἔνθα ὁ μὲν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παντά-
πασιν ἄπορος ἦν διὰ τὸ βάθος καὶ μέγεθος, πάροδος δὲ οὐκ ἦν,
ἀλλὰ τὰ Καρδούχεια ἔρη ἀπότομα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
ἐκρέματο, ἐδόκει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς διὰ τῶν ὁρέων πορευτέον
3 εἶναι. ἤκουον γὰρ τῶν ἀλισκομένων ὅτι εἰ διέλθοιεν τὰ Καρδού-
χεια ὕρη, ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ, ἦν μὲν
βούλωνται, διαβήσονται, ἦν δὲ μὴ βούλωνται, περιίασι. καὶ τοῦ
Εὐφράτου δὲ τὰς πηγὰς ἐλέγετο οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Τίγρητος εἶναι,
4 καὶ ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον. τὴν δ' εἰς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἐμβολὴν ὧδε
ποιοῦνται, ἅμα μὲν λαθεῖν πειρώμενοι, ἅμα δὲ φθάσαι πρὶν τοὺς
πολεμίους καταλαβεῖν τὰ ἄκρα.

¹ Summary (see above): The preceding narrative has described all that took place on the upward march until the time of the battle, all that happened after the battle



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πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν καὶ ἄτε θεωμένων τῶν
28 ἑταίρων πολλὴ φιλονικία ἐγίγνετο. ἔθεον δὲ καὶ
ἵπποι καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ἐλάσαν-
τας ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ἀποστρέψαντας πάλιν πρὸς
τὸν βωμὸν ἄγειν. καὶ κάτω μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐκυλιν-
δοῦντο· ἄνω δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὄρθιον μόγισ
βάδην ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ἵπποι· ἔνθα πολλὴ κραυγὴ
καὶ γέλως καὶ παρακέλευσις ἐγίγνετο.

¹ The altar on which the sacrifices had been offered served as a starting-point for the races.

ANABASIS, IV. VIII. 27-28

there were a great many entries and, inasmuch as the comrades of the contestants were looking on, there was a great deal of rivalry. There were horse-races also, and the riders had to drive their horses down the steep slope, turn them around on the shore, and bring them back again to the altar.¹ And on the way down most of the horses rolled over and over, while on the way up, against the exceedingly steep incline, they found it hard to keep on at a walk; so there was much shouting and laughter and cheering.

BOOK V

give those people aid nor would you join with me in striking such as violated discipline. Consequently you gave the bad among them freedom to act wantonly by thus letting them alone.

"For I think, if you care to look into the matter, you will find it is the very same men who were then most cowardly that are now most wanton. At any rate, Boiscus the boxer, of Thessaly, then fought hard to escape carrying his shield, on the plea that he was tired, but now, as I hear, he has already stripped off the clothes of many Cotyorites. If you are wise, therefore, you will do to this fellow the opposite of what people do to dogs; for dogs that are savage are tied up by day and let loose by night, but this fellow, if you are wise, you will tie up by night and let loose by day.

"But really," he continued, "I am surprised that if ever I incurred the ill-will of any one among you, you remember that and are not silent about it, while if I protected any one from the cold, or warded off an enemy from him, or helped to provide something for him when he was sick or in want, these acts, on the other hand, are not remembered by anybody; nor, again, if I praised a man for a deed well done, or honoured according to my ability a man who was brave, do you remember any of these things. Yet surely it is more honourable and fair, more righteous and gracious to remember good deeds than evil."

Then people began getting up and recalling past incidents, and in the end all was pleasant.

BOOK VI

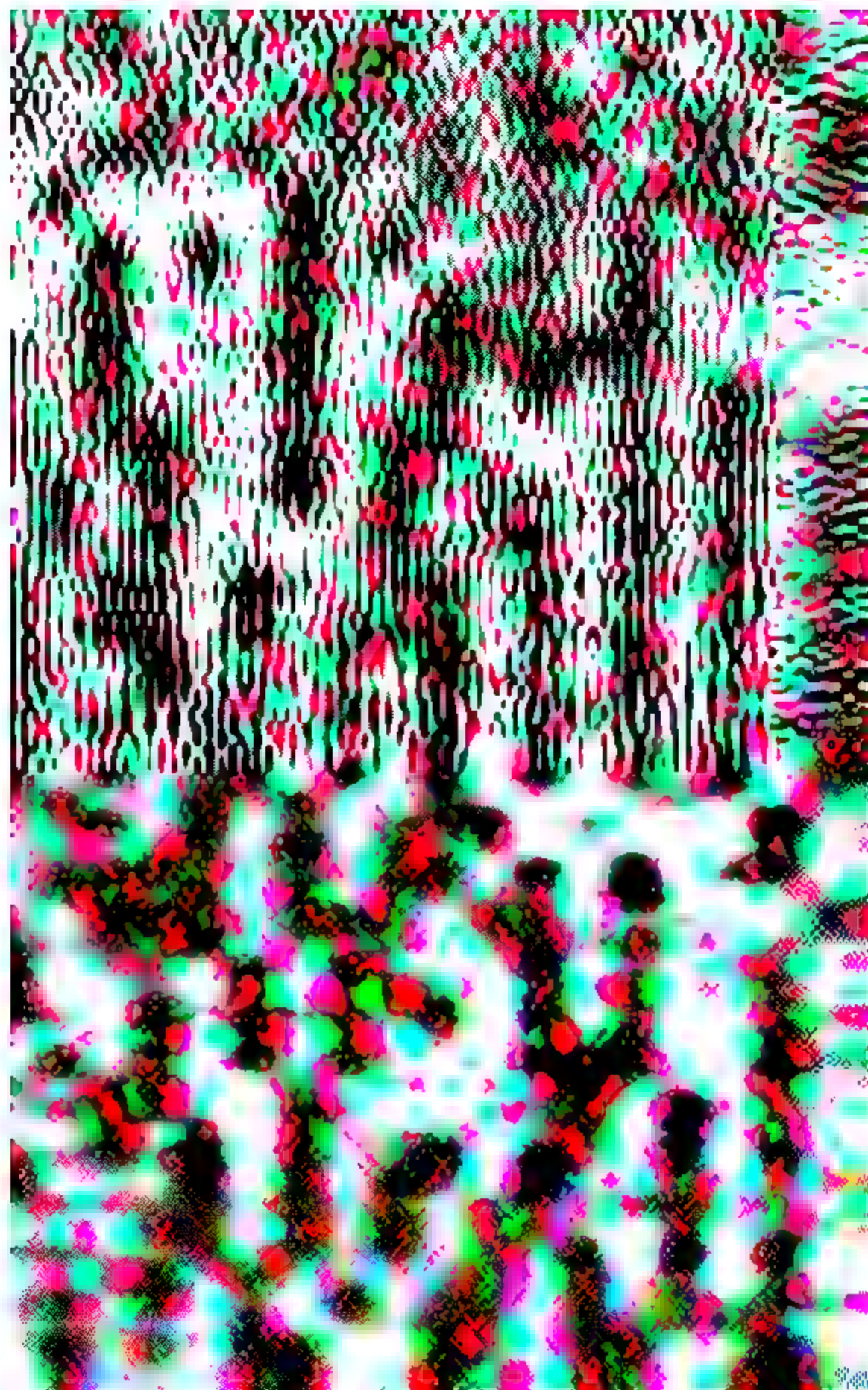
ANABASIS, VI. 1. 11-16

do in their festal processions in honour of the gods. And the Paphlagonians, as they looked on, thought it most strange that all the dances were under arms. Thereupon the Mysian, seeing how astounded they were, persuaded one of the Arcadians who had a dancing girl to let him bring her in, after dressing her up in the finest way he could and giving her a light shield. And she danced the Pyrrhic¹ with grace. Then there was great applause, and the Paphlagonians asked whether women also fought by their side. And the Greeks replied that these women were precisely the ones who put the King to flight from his camp. Such was the end of that evening.

On the next day they introduced the ambassadors to the army, and the soldiers passed a resolution to do the Paphlagonians no wrong and to suffer no wrong at their hands. After this the ambassadors departed, and the Greeks, inasmuch as it seemed that vessels enough were at hand, embarked and sailed for a day and a night with a fair wind, keeping Paphlagonia on the left. On the second day they reached Sinope, and came to anchor at Harmene, in the territory of Sinope. The Sinopeans dwell, indeed, in Paphlagonia, but are colonists of the Milesians. And they sent to the Greeks, as gifts of hospitality, three thousand *medimni*² of barley meal and fifteen hundred jars of wine.

Here Cheirisophus³ also came, with a man-of-war. And the soldiers expected that he had brought them something; in fact, however, he brought nothing, save the report that the admiral Anaxibius³ and

³ *cp.* v. i. 3-4.



XENOPHON

- 28 τις ὅποτε ἡ στρατιὰ ἐξίοι ἰδία λήζοιτο, δημόσια
 εἶναι τὰ ληφθέντα. ταῦτα εἶπον· ἐκ τούτου με
 λαβὼν οὗτος ἦγεν, ἵνα μὴ φθέγγοιτο μηδεὶς, ἀλλ'
 αὐτὸς λαβὼν τὸ μέρος διασώσῃ τοῖς λησταῖς
 παρὰ τὴν ῥήτραν τὰ χρήματα. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ
 Κλέανδρος εἶπεν· Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν¹ . . . εἰ, κατὰ-
 μενε, ἵνα καὶ περὶ σοῦ βουλευσώμεθα.
 29 Ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κλέανδρον ἡρίστων
 τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν συνήγαγε Ξενοφῶν καὶ συνε-
 βούλευε πέμψαι ἄνδρας πρὸς Κλέανδρον παραι-
 30 τησομένους περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἐκ τούτου ἔδοξεν
 αὐτοῖς πέμψαντας στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς καὶ
 Δρακόντιον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ
 ἐδόκουν ἐπιτήδαιοι εἶναι δεῖσθαι Κλεάνδρου κατὰ
 31 πάντα τρόπον ἀφεῖναι τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐλθὼν οὖν ὁ
 Ξενοφῶν λέγει· Ἐχεις μὲν, ὦ Κλέανδρε, τοὺς
 ἄνδρας, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ σοι ὑφείτο ὅ τι ἐβούλου
 ποιῆσαι καὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπάντων.
 νῦν δέ σε αἰτοῦνται καὶ δέονται δοῦναι σφίσι τὸν
 ἄνδρα καὶ μὴ κατακαίνειν· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ
 ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ περὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐμοχθη-
 32 σάτην. ταῦτα δέ σου τυχόντες ὑπισχνοῦνταί
 σοι ἀντὶ τούτων, ἣν βούλῃ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτῶν καὶ ἣν
 οἱ θεοὶ ἴλεω ᾧσιν, ἐπιδείξῃ σοι καὶ ὡς κόσμιοί
 εἰσι καὶ ὡς ἱκανοὶ τῷ ἄρχοντι πειθόμενοι τοὺς
 33 πολεμίους σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθαι. δέονται
 δέ σου καὶ τοῦτο, παραγενόμενον καὶ ἄρξαντα
 ἑαυτῶν πείραν λαβεῖν καὶ Δεξίππου καὶ σφῶν

¹ Neither Mar. nor Gem. attempts to fill the lacuna which is evident at this point.

XENOPHON

38 τῶν Βιθυνῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐνέτυχον πορευόμενοι τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁδόν, ὥστε ἔχοντές τι εἰς τὴν φιλίαν ἐλθεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τοῦμπαλιν ὑποστρέψαντας ἐλθεῖν μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες ἔλαβον πολλὰ καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ πρόβατα· καὶ ἀφίκοντο ἑκταῖοι εἰς Χρυσόπολιν τῆς Καλχηδονίας, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ λαφυροπωλοῦντες.

ANABASIS, VI. vi. 37-38

through the country of the Bithynians. But when in following the direct road they failed to find any booty, to enable them to reach friendly territory with a little something in hand, they resolved to turn about and take the opposite direction for one day and night. By so doing they secured slaves and sheep in abundance; and on the sixth day they arrived at Chrysopolis, in Calchedonia, where they remained for seven days, selling their spoils.

BOOK VII

THE BANQUET

INTRODUCTION

but we enjoy a feeling of reality in the evening's event, of seeing more vividly than in Plato just how an Athenian banquet was conducted. And so, if we desire to supplement and correct the realism of the comedians and see the ordinary Athenians in their times of relaxation, we can hardly do better than view them in these pages of Xenophon. There is an Attic grace and restraint, also, in Xenophon that has made his works charming to ancient and to modern alike.

•

SOCRATES'
DEFENCE TO THE JURY

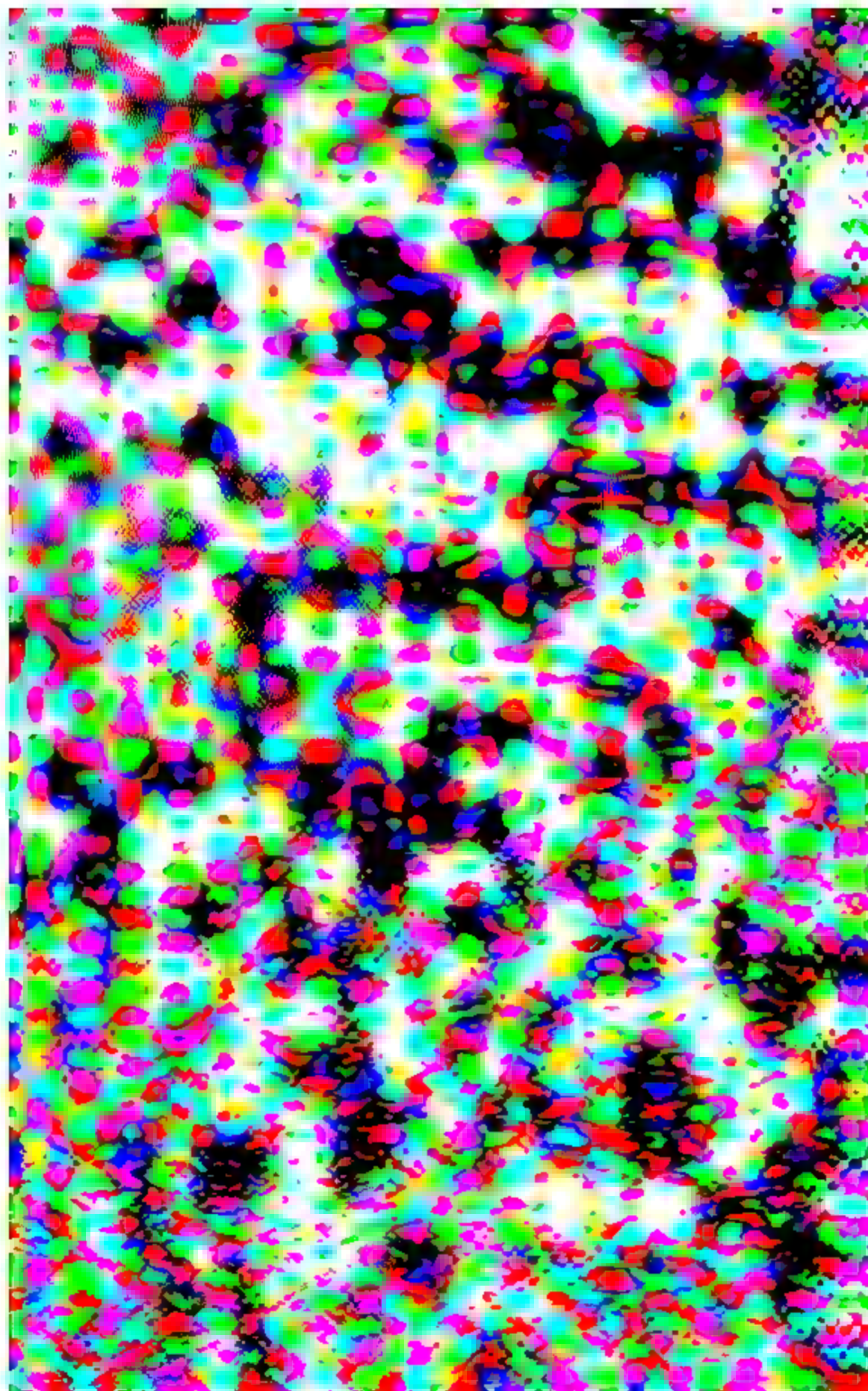


INTRODUCTION

any rate the theme comes out a number of times in poetry, from the haunting elegy of Mimnermus on. And it seems quite likely that in conversation Socrates had mentioned this commonplace comfort as one reason for his willingness to die ;¹ but whether Plato did not hear it, or thought it not worth recording beside more spiritual thoughts, at any rate he nowhere reports it,² and it is certain that in the publicity of the court-room Socrates dwelt rather on his hope of immortality and of communion with the great men of the past. The reader who wishes to get a true picture of this great man at the climax of his life should therefore not fail to supplement Xenophon's professedly incomplete account by the fuller one of Plato.

¹ Perhaps with the feeling that here at least was an argument that would appeal to his friends.

² The nearest approach to such a sentiment is found in the closing words of Socrates' defence as reported by Plato (*Apology*, 41D) : ". . . but this is clear to me, that it were better for me now to die and once and for all be rid of troubles."



XENOPHON

θάνατον ἐμαλακίσατο, ἀλλ' ἱλαρῶς καὶ προσ-
εδέχετο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπετελέσατο.

- 34 Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ κατανοῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τήν τε σοφίαν
καὶ τὴν γενναιότητα οὔτε μὴ μεμνήσθαι δύναμαι
αὐτοῦ οὔτε μεμνημένος μὴ οὐκ ἐπαινεῖν. εἰ δέ τις
τῶν ἀρετῆς ἐφιεμένων ὠφελιμωτέρῳ τινὶ Σωκρά-
τους συνεγένετο, ἐκεῖνον ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀξιομα-
καριστότατον νομίζω.

SOCRATES' DEFENCE, 33-34

his good), but was cheerful not only in the expectation of death but in meeting it.

And so, in contemplating the man's wisdom and nobility of character, I find it beyond my power to forget him or, in remembering him, to refrain from praising him. And if among those who make virtue their aim any one has ever been brought into contact with a person more helpful than Socrates, I count that man worthy to be called most blessed.



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